fc Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin M54

dividual Arab is free to transfer his allegiance to another chieftain if he so desires. Such a transfer quite frequently takes place. In a loose general way each tribe has certain areas over which it grazes its camels and its goats and sheep. In proportion to the number of animals the area covered is enormous, for throughout the hot, dry summer months locations must be frequently changed and new pastures found. The prosperity of the desert Arab, poor as it is at the best, depends on a rainfall so scanty that one marvels at the existence of any life at all. There are whole districts, like the Great Southern Desert and the black plain encountered between Hasa and Riyadh, where not even the hardiest Bedouin attempts to live. In winter the temperature goes down so low that frost is seen, and in the summer the country glows with heat like a furnace. No mineral resources are known at present, and there is no reason to suppose that the most careful scientific search would find any.

Bedouins who live in the desert own a certain number of camels, and turn them out to graze over large areas. Camels require little water and can go for three days, if necessary, without a drink, an ability which adds enormously to their value in a country where it is frequently necessary to travel scores of miles to find a well. The camel is the one support of Bedouin life. Camel's milk is the principal article of diet, with a few dates for a dessert and camel's meat as an addition for feasts and high days. The hair of the camel furnishes clothes, and his back affords the only method of transportation possible in the desert. Indeed the Arab looks on the camel as God's special gift to the desert nomad, and he is not far mistaken.

Where wells are somewhat close together and the for-

Ac Harvard D-4 (1923-1924) 1934 M1 M966e Rare
Bedouin 934

421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always [425] subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had 454 all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and 574 above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

428 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually. 422 425 This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar position. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

Li Harrison D-4 (1913-1924) 1924 MI Middle East
Bedouin #34

the property of the owner as long as he can keep others from carrying it off and no longer. These raids are not theft in the Arab mind. The spirit is much like that of a game of football, where by craft or by superior power one side takes the ball from the other. The Bedouins are real sportsmen and take their losses with extraordinary equanimity. They hope to recoup themselves the next time and then possibly be richer than ever, for a time at least.

Two brothers came to the Mission Hospital in Kuwait a number of years ago, one of whom had been shot in a raid years before and suffered greatly as a result. It required many operations to cure him, but after a stay of perhaps five months he went home quite relieved. The sick man's brother took care of him with a steadfast optimism that was past praise. The wounded man was without property, whereas his loyal brother was a man of some wealth, but that made not the slightest difference.

One day, after they had spent perhaps four months with us, I spoke to the man about it. "You have been here," I said, "for some time now, and I understand that in your country you own considerable property."

"Yes," he said, "I am not altogether poor, though I have no great amount. It is mostly goats and camels, with a little household property."

"Well," I said, "are you not afraid that while you are away, your district may be raided and all that property taken? You have been here four months now and it will be some time still before you can leave."

"Oh," he replied, with a fine example of a Bedouin grin spreading over his face, "it has probably all been stolen by this time."

Bedouin 1934

"Well," I persisted, "the matter does not seem to trouble you a great deal."

"No indeed," with an even broader grin if that were possible. "It does not trouble me at all. Just as soon as I get out of here, I will go and steal somebody else's. Who knows? Perhaps I may have more than I had before."

The tribal fights that keep the country in a continual state of turmoil are little more than glorified raids for the sake of plunder. They intensify the poverty of the community, for legitimate trade is handicapped, and this irregular exchange of goods cannot in the nature of the case benefit the whole society, however much it may temporarily enrich individuals. But life without the excitement of these raids seems to the desert nomad a tame and a stale thing, hardly worth living. On the other hand, personal property, such as is kept in tents, is as sacredly individual as it is with us, and its theft is keenly resented. The conception that every man's home is his castle is one of the most fundamental ideas of the Arab, and when the crew of a gunboat many years ago attempted to search the inner quarters of a house in Dibai for firearms, the resulting indignation was so intense that foreigners found themselves unable to enter that district for nearly ten years. The household belongings that the Bedouin keeps in his tent may be poor things but they are very much his own.

This life of the desert, with its poverty and hardships and its primitive economic conditions, has nevertheless so worked its charm on the Bedouin nomad that he longs for nothing else. The Bedouin with his intense individualism seems particularly adapted to the desert. He loves its vast distances and its solitude. Anything less

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organization has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organization is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organization, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

CHAPTER XXVI

Badawin Warfare

Raiding is the breath of life to the Badawin. Prevent him from raiding and he becomes the most melancholy of men.

Just as in the civilised West man must have his various sports, football, cricket, tennis, shooting, etc., to keep himself fit and happy, so in Arabia the primitive Badawin must have his raids. These denote to him everything that is manly and sporting.

A famous raider is honoured above all men, and boys and young men pine for the day when they will be allowed to accompany their elders on forays, and so win their spurs.

Raiding brings out all that is hard, brave and skilful in man, so the occupation is honoured and encouraged, just as everything tending to make a man soft and effeminate is despised by all true desert men.

Desert raids do not as a rule entail much bloodshed. Raiders are primarily inspired by greed for camels, and with this goes the desire to score off their enemies. To lift an enemy's camels is the best way of all to hurt him and add to the raider's own stock, for a Badawin values his camels above everything.

There is no such thing in ordinary desert warfare as men fighting "to the death" or making a "last stand" in defence of wives, children and stock. That would be merely foolish. The Badawin appreciates at once the odds against him. If he knows he can drive off the raider he will stand and do so; if, on the other hand, he sees that he has no chance, he will desert family and camels and bolt into the desert to live to fight another day. He knows his women and children will be safe, why then risk certain death by fighting against odds? He allows his camels to be taken knowing his turn will come another day. *Nakkad wa nerwakkid* (We take and are ourselves taken) is his creed.

This is no reflection on the Badawin's courage. He is a brave man, but he has no false notions of standing up against an obviously superior force till he is killed.

A Dictionary G-A (1939-47) 1951 942.1 Kennedy
Bordeaux 1478

231 counts. She is kept to breed with, and being money to the user, in the same way as a good she-camel.

More important still, a mare is looked upon as adorning a man's tent, like a woman or child, for to the Bedawin "A house without a child in it is like a room in darkness". No mare will be kept unless she can be traced back to a thoroughbred stock—but even so, her value will be great or small according as she bears certain marks on her body (see below). For example, a man may breed a filly from his thoroughbred mare, which may have one white leg and three black or bay ones—this will make her unlucky and the filly will always be unwanted.

DIFFICULTY OF BUYING ARAB MARES

231 It is normally very difficult for a European to buy a thoroughbred
825 mare, and the only way he can acquire one without great delay and
922 expense is as a present from a great prince or shaikh, who owns mares in his own right. Even then, he is rarely given a first-class animal.

The reason for this is that no ordinary tribesman owns the whole of his mare, so he cannot sell her outright. He perhaps owns a leg, two legs, or three legs only and can only sell his part-right. At these sales conditions are also carefully laid down as to who shall have the first foal, the second filly, and so on.

As a rule half a dozen persons own, or have a share in each mare, and the joint-owners often live at great distance from each other, hence the difficulty in purchasing even a fairly ordinary mare—while to buy a thoroughbred is practically impossible for a foreigner.

It is amusing and rather disconcerting for a European who sees a good mare in the desert and wants to buy it to be told by the owner that he is quite willing to sell the animal's off-fore, but that the would-be purchaser must go to So-and-So, and So-and-So, living perhaps 100 miles away, if he wants to buy the other three legs. It is still more discouraging to be told that even if you can square each of these parties after prolonged negotiations, that So-and-So living 300 miles away at, say Buraida, has a lien on the first filly, so must be asked if he will agree to the sale. Lastly that the Buraida man may be expected to give a definite "No", seeing that if the mare goes out of the country he will in all probability see no filly.

Branding of Camels

A curious custom exists among certain tribes, revealing their firm 232.
belief in *'ishqud*, or sympathetic magic.

If a man has a white and a black camel, and one goes lame, say the white one, in the leg, he brands the black camel on the same leg that is lame in the white camel, and the white camel's lameness is believed to disappear. (Authority, Shaikh of Koweit, 25th November, 1933.)

MILCH CAMELS

Male camels, as already mentioned, are kept away from females in 233
winter, the breeding season. In summer the sexes are allowed to graze together.

Milch camels are not allowed to feed their young when grazing. The milk is wanted for the men, and only after men requirements are taken is the mother allowed to suckle the baby camel. The young camel is allowed to feed in the evening, and before going out in early morning.

To prevent a baby camel's illicit drinking, the mother's udders are tied to a piece of stick called a *sarār*. (*Sarra al nāqat*, means "tie the she-camel's teats up".)

The female has four teats and the stick is tied to two at a time. (See sketch, page 100.)

On 5th May, 1933, when drinking some camel's milk among the 'Ajmān, I saw the tying-up process. To enable us to milk the camel the strings were loosed, and when the 'Ajmān herdsman tied them up again he placed a piece of camel's wool between string and teats before fastening them to the *sarār*. In one case, having no wool handy, he used an old camel dropping (*julla*). The piece of wool is to prevent damage or hurt to the nipples.

TRIBAL "WASMS"

Every tribe has its *wasms* or tribal brand marks, corresponding 419
somewhat to our own family crests. The *wasm* is never placed on 233
banners or war flags, and is primarily meant to show the Badawin 422.
world to whom such and such camels or wells belong.

Horses and mares are never branded, though they usually have a small slit or private brand placed on the ear to indicate the owner.

Camels on the other hand are all branded with some tribal mark or other, wherever they are, or to whomsoever they belong.

Private property also, such as a camel load, which has had to be temporarily abandoned in the desert owing to the death of the camel carrying it, can be protected by marking on the ground near it the tribal mark of the owner. As a rule, no one finding such property will touch it.

The tribal marks which exist, and could be collected by anyone interested in the study, are legion, for the 'Awamir tribe of Hasa, as far as I can ascertain, is alone among all the tribes of Arabia in possessing one mark only for the whole tribe. All other tribes have dozens and dozens of different brands in accordance with the number of sections and subsections into which they are divided, or the number of their shaikhs who think they ought to have their own special distinguishing mark for their camels.

Like the tattoo marks of the Iraq Marsh women, Badawin's camel marks are of extraordinary interest and it would be well worth while for some student to collect and classify them. I have myself collected a fair number of tribal marks from various sections of the more important tribes I have come across, but space forbids to reproduce them here.

I therefore confine myself to giving a few of the more important marks only, including those of the paramount shaikhs of certain tribes, just to show what they look like and on what part of the camel they are branded.

(1) His Majesty King 'Abdul 'Aziz al Sa'ud (Ibn Sa'ud):
Placed on the right thigh.

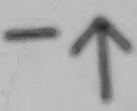
After the Ikhwan rebellion of 1929–30 was put down, those camels confiscated by Ibn Sa'ud from the rebellious tribes were marked with a special new brand to indicate that they were the King's property, but had been taken from rebels. This mark was on right thigh.

(x) Muhammad al Sa'ud (the King's brother):
Placed on right thigh.

(y) 'Abdullah' ibn Jiluwi (Amir of Hasa):
Placed on right thigh.

* To-day he's an.

(z) His Excellency The Shaikh of Koweit (Sir Subah):
Placed on either thigh.

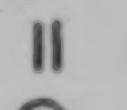


(z) Al Sa'adun (Shaikhs of the Muntafiq):
Placed on left cheek.
(This circle is known as Ashja.)

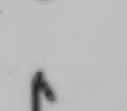
(z) Urtema Tatus
(a) Ibn Hamaid (Shaikh of Rwala group):
On all four shoulders.

(β) Ibn Rubaiyan (Shaikh of Rwala group):
On left side of neck.
(Rwala family scars mark on right side of neck).

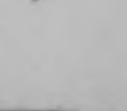
(γ) Ibn Chamil (Shaikh of Muntefiq group):
On left cheek.



(δ) Ibn Hijra (Shaikh of Anaza group):
On right thigh.



(ε) Ibn Ja'ara (Shaikh of Ruwa group):
Helps on right cheek.



(η) Dharra Tatus (Ibn Sawait only):
On right thigh.

(c) (B) 'Awazim Tribe
255 (a) Ibn Jamra (Al Amir): On left thigh
912 Also (Shaibán): On left cheek

(d) Ibn Dirai: On right thigh
Also
(Suwaidi): On left cheek
or Akhal on left thigh

(g) Marwan Tribe
(a) Al Dualam (all members): On left thigh
(d) Al Fuqum (Sálaba—Thaalaba):
On left cheek
Also on left cheek
(e) Ibn Lami (Qa'aitir—Jábir):
On right cheek
(d) Ibn Shibán (Al Talya—Jábir):
On right thigh
(e) Ibn Ghumaiman (Mish'abe—Thaalaba):
Over right eye
(f) Ibn Rashidan (Barrak—Jábir):
On right thigh
(g) Al Ma'arqab (Aswajha—Jábir):
On left cheek
Also On left cheek
(k) Al Sur (Bara'im—Marwaha):
On left thigh
Also
On left cheek
(l) Ibn Jarihan
Abu Silfa (Rashidan—Marwaha):
On right cheek
or Akhal

Rashaida Women

Chap. XXXII

(j) Ibn Shuweiyar (Khawaisah—Murwahs):
On left thigh

(k) Abu Ras (Al Jahara—Murwahs):
On right thigh

(l) Ibn Mis'ib (Sa'asaa—Murwahs):
On left neck
Also on left cheek

(m) Ibn Ashwan (Alsaiyar—Wasil):
On right thigh

(n) Ibn Shuweirikat (Hasan—Wasil):
On left neck

(o) Ibn Jarbah (Dhyabia—Wasil):
They cut a piece out of the left cheek and off the left ear.

(p) Ibn Mahalibi (Wisaam—Wasil):
On left thigh

(q) Ibn Mussiyia (Sa'asaa—Awlad Ali):
On right cheek
Also
On right thigh

(r) Ibn Jarsan (Al Maisaam—Bani 'Abdillah):
On left cheek

(s) Ibn Thasaan
Ibn Darwish
(Al Sa'abe—Bani 'Abdillah):
On right cheek

(ss) Rashaida Tribe

(a) Ibn Musallim:
A long plain line round neck under chin from side to side

(b) Ibn Awaiyid ('Awasa):
On left thigh

(c) Al Shahir (Shahare): On right thigh

(d) Ibn Nimsan (Mahaimse): On right thigh

(e) Ibn Sa'ami: On right thigh

(xx) The following 'Ajmān marks were given me by Mubarak Ibn Hasf al Hajraf, Shaikh of the Sulaimān, on April 10, 1934:

Al Hithlain: On left cheek

Al Hadi: On right cheek

Al Hajraf: On left neck

Al Sulaimān: On left neck, low

Ibn 'Asidan (Shaikh Sulaimān): On left neck

Al Mahfadh: On left thigh

Al Sulfan : On right neck

Al Hajan: On right thigh

Al Saleh: On right neck

Al Rima: On left neck high up

Al Hitlan: Right round gullet on under side

Al Thain: On left neck

1:Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI1 Kuwait Bedouins MJ4

Camel Sticks

Chap. XXXII

(11) BANI KHALID TRIBE

(*a*) Ibn Agál:

On right side of neck

619
233
422

(*b*) Ibn Ajran:

On left thigh (like Awazim)

(12) BANI HAJIR TRIBE (Ibn Mubarak only):

On left side of neck

CAMEL STICKS (*Mishd'ab*)

These very often bear the *wasm* of the owner's tribe burnt on the crook end of the stick. I have three such myself, given me by members of the Dushan clan of the Mutair, which I keep as mementoes.

"WASMS" OR TRIBAL MARKS CARVED ON THE ROCKS ON NORTH-WEST FACE OF JABAL WARA (KUWAIT)

Names of tribes or sections of a tribe claiming some of those *wasms* are given below. 619

'Awazim

Subah (Kuwait)

Sufran ('Ajman)

Al Huwaila ('Ajman)

Hithlain ('Ajman)

Salim al Hamud (one of Al Subah Shaikhs)

Qahtan, also 'Utaiba

'Utaiba

'Ajman

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Appendix XXVIII

APPENDIX XXVIII

Ref. Chapter XXXII. Camel Wasms

233
619
422

The following additional Wasms should be noted.

1. Under *Mutair Tribe* after (*s*), p. 423, add:
   (*t*) Al Ammásh (Al Ruaichib)
   On left cheek

2. Under *Bani Khalid* after (*b*), p. 425, add:
   (*c*) Ibn Mendíl
   On right thigh

3. Add (13) *Murra Tribe:*
   (*a*) Nigadan (Al Mugasse)
   Low on right thigh
   (*b*) Mohomed ibn Salim
   On left side of neck

APPENDIX XXIX

KHITAB SULAIMAN BIN DAUD

(End of Chapter XLV)

The method of confining ants to their nest by means of Solomon's Magic Circle, was confirmed to me on April 15, 1948 by Salim al Murri and Saleh al Uhaimir, both trackers of the Murra tribe employed by H.H. the Shaikh of Kuwait when I visited their camp and was chatting to them and their womenfolk over a cup of coffee. 789

Both assured me that the circle did work but (*a*) that the circle must be made anti-clockwise, and that the ants could only be released if the motion of making the circle was again gone through, but this time clockwise. That this was always done when about to strike camp, as then the ants had to be released.

(*b*) The circle could only be made effective by the grown-up children (male and female) of first cousins. For other people to draw the circle was useless, and the ants would take no notice. (*c*) Food had to be given to the imprisoned ants at noon and sunset each day.